MEDINET HABU · 1924–28

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MEDINET HABU, 1924-28

I
THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

(SEASONS 1924–25 TO 1927–28)

By HAROLD H. NELSON

II
THE ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY OF THE GREAT TEMPLE AND PALACE OF MEDINET HABU

(SEASON 1927–28)

By UVO HOELSCHER

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FOREWORD

It is now exactly a century since the first man able to read Egyptian hieroglyphs began the effort to record the inscriptions still *in situ* in Egypt by means of modern hand copies. On January 1, 1829, having made the voyage up the Nile, the great decipherer François Champollion began his personal records of the inscribed monuments on the river at Wadi Halfa just below the Second Cataract. He was able to spend only eight and a half months in carrying this work down the Nile. Arriving at Antinoe on September 11, 1829, he writes, "Mon voyage des recherches est terminé."

The Prussian expedition under Lepsius, which spent three years on the Nile, was naturally able to produce a larger volume of copies; but all this early work, including that of Champollion together with that of an Italian mission and of the Prussian expedition, covered but a tiny fraction of the exposed monuments. There still remained *in situ* an enormous body of monuments of which no adequate record was then or has since been made available. It is of course true, moreover, that, in spite of our feeling of gratitude and admiration for the work accomplished by these earlier expeditions, the science of epigraphy had at that time not yet been born. It is especially the earlier instalments of Mommsen's great *Corpus* of the Latin inscriptions which illustrate the fact that, even in the more familiar classical languages, accurate facsimiles of inscriptions were difficult to secure. It is no reflection upon the work of the earlier expeditions to say that the monuments which they copied must be recorded again in accordance with the requirements of modern epigraphic accuracy.

But even the process of recording exclusively by hand, as it was practiced in the middle decades of the last century, soon ceased after the extraordinary excavations of Auguste Mariette had begun; and the interest of the Western World from that time on was expressed chiefly in *excavating* expeditions in the Nile Valley. Almost the only exception has been the admirable effort of the Egypt Exploration Society, as illustrated in its volumes on the temple of Deir el-Bahari and the tombs of Thebes and elsewhere. It is much to the credit of

the Metropolitan Museum of New York that, almost from the beginning of its researches in Egypt, it has recognized the work of recording as a serious responsibility of modern science. Neither can we fail to recognize with appreciation the endeavor of de Morgan, although himself not a philologist or epigrapher, to provide a complete transcription of the inscriptions of Egypt, beginning at the First Cataract and moving northward. Although the work never passed beyond the first three volumes, and the field methods were insufficient, the effort was worthy of all recognition.

From 1905 to 1907 the University of Chicago made a complete survey of the inscriptions of Nubia from the southern limit of the monuments northward to but not including the First Cataract. But none of these efforts attempted a complete *corpus* such as Mommsen had planned from the beginning; and none of them made a systematic effort toward a permanent organization. Hence, an enormous volume of Egyptian records is still unsalvaged. Realizing the vast extent of these records and the necessity for a permanent organization to cope with such a situation, the Oriental Institute has from the first endeavored not only to develop the most highly perfected practical field methods for producing accurate facsimiles but also to effect an efficient and permanent field organization. With these ends in view, the Institute has organized a permanent Epigraphic Expedition with its present headquarters in two buildings near the temple of Medinet Habu. If this staff and organization have developed as an efficient working machine, this success is due in no small measure to the efficient leadership of Dr. Harold H. Nelson as field director of the expedition.

The selection of the temple of Medinet Habu for beginning this work of inscription salvage was made for obvious reasons. Many of its records have remained entirely unpublished, and those available in old copies are singularly incomplete. The subject matter is of unique interest, revealing to us as it does for the first time the emergence of Europe as an influential power in the political and military arena of the ancient Oriental world. The incoming barbarian Greeks, shifting continually southward out of the Balkans, were overwhelming and driving out the population of the area later called Greece, till its defeated and dethroned leaders sought a refuge in Egypt and Western Asia in the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C. These rec-

ords of Medinet Habu thus reveal to us the repercussion of the Greek migration and conquest, as these great events were felt among the nations of the Near East. Obviously such historical sources are of far-reaching interest and importance. Their artistic and archaeological value is equally great. The plates of this expedition throw an entirely new light on Ramessid art and will without doubt modify current opinion regarding its usually accepted decadence.

The first step in the practical process of saving these records is a series of many hundreds of photographs, which have been very much enlarged to the size of an artist's portable drawing-board. With these the artists go to the wall, where they inspect the original inscription and also do much penciling directly on the enlargement. With India ink the artists then carefully trace all the lines of the original directly on the face of the photographic enlargement. The ink-traced photograph is then bleached in a chemical bath so that the photograph disappears, leaving only white paper bearing ink lines. From this ink drawing the darkroom assistants, native Egyptian boys, then make contact negatives, printed on brown iron-paper. Thereupon these paper negatives make very simple the production of blueprints which can be cut up into sections and pasted on convenient correspondence-size sheets of paper, leaving ample margins for corrections. The epigraphers then take these blueprints to the wall, where they compare the artists' work, sign by sign, with the original inscription. This is a kind of "proofreading" which is done repeatedly, with the purpose of eliminating all mistakes. When the artists have entered all the corrections on the drawings, the result is a facsimile of each inscription containing far more than a photograph can record. This facsimile combines three things: the speed and accuracy of the camera, the skill and clearness of the artist, and finally the reading ability of the epigrapher, who sees much which is not recorded by camera or artist.

It will be seen that this work has required a highly specialized staff, made up chiefly of epigraphers, artists, and photographers. Besides Dr. Nelson, the epigraphic staff has consisted of Dr. C. R. Williams, Dr. W. F. Edgerton, and Dr. J. H. Wilson, all of them formerly graduate students and now doctors of the University of Chicago. The staff of artists has been made up of A. Bollacher, V. Canziani, J. A. Chubb, and more recently L. J. Longley. It is fitting to com-

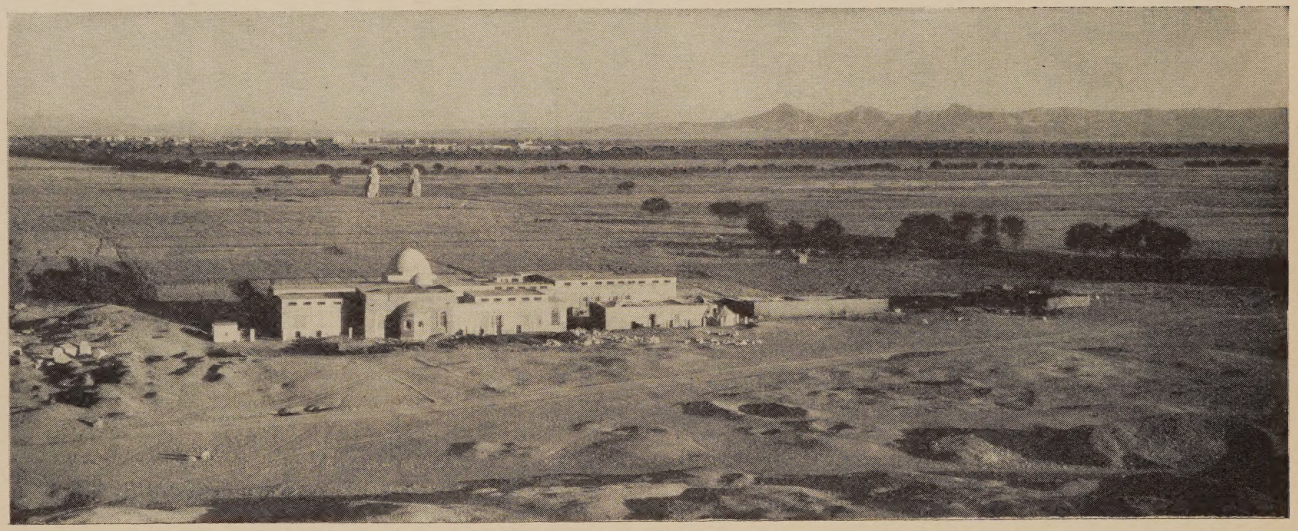

FIG. 1. CHICAGO HOUSE, SEEN FROM THE WESTERN CLIFFS

The Oriental Institute's headquarters in Egypt consist of two buildings, the nearer of which includes the Rosenwald Library (Fig. 3). Along the wind-blown sands in the foreground stretches the road which serves Chicago House. Its buildings, standing at the extreme edge of the desert, overlook the fertile western plain, where tower the two Colossi of Memnon. In the background flows the Nile; and on its farther (eastern) bank lies Luxor, with modern hotels and shops surrounding its ancient temple colonnades. A little to the right, outside of this picture, stands Medinet Habu, where the work herein described has been carried on.

memorate here the faithful services of our first photographer, J. Hartman, who died not long after the beginning of his second season's work. He was succeeded by O. E. Lind and A. Q. Morrison. As librarian, the expedition enjoys the services of Miss Phoebe G. Byles; and its now large volume of clerical business is managed by I. J. Khuri.

Early in the work it was discerned that an exclusively epigraphic record of the great Medinet Habu temple and its neighboring buildings would be very insufficient. It was highly desirable that the expedition should be expanded and should have associated with it a staff trained and equipped to produce also an *architectural survey* of the Medinet Habu buildings. It was hoped, furthermore, that such a survey might be extended to the other ancient buildings of Egypt. It is one of the deplorable gaps in our available records of Egypt that no comprehensive architectural survey of the country has ever been made. In the winter of 1926–27 the organization of the desired Architectural Survey was effected. Headed by Professor U. Hoelscher, it was placed under the direction of the Epigraphic Expedition. Professor Hoelscher is assisted by H. Steckeweh as building engineer, and also by H. Hanson. The researches of this survey have involved the Institute in the complete excavation of the huge Medinet Habu inclosure, a task requiring some four seasons of work. This project is now in its second season.

The need for housing these two staffs, many members of which are married, and for commodious workrooms, photographic laboratory, drafting-rooms, etc., involved the building and equipment of extensive headquarters at Medinet Habu (Figs. 1 and 2). In course of time it proved increasingly difficult to carry on the work, and especially to maintain a growing staff of young scientists, completely isolated from all access to a scientific library. Since the erection and equipment of the Rosenwald Library (Fig. 3), the first scientific library in Upper Egypt, the life of the entire staff has been completely transformed. Evening classes in hieroglyphic have grown up in the library alcoves, members of other expeditions frequently work in its reading-room, foreign scholars find reference to its shelves invaluable, and the work of our own expedition has grown in efficiency and confidence as the staff has been able to survey and compare the work of

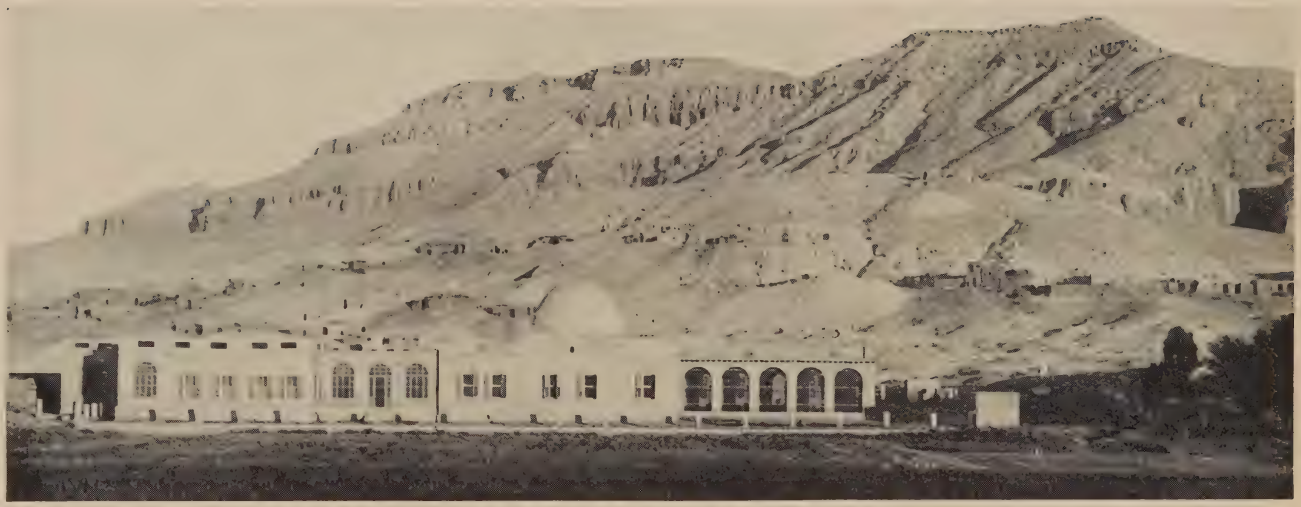

FIG. 2. CHICAGO HOUSE, SEEN FROM THE THEBAN PLAIN

The fertile plain in the foreground is annually inundated by the Nile. Protected by an embankment from the encroachment of the river, Chicago House stands at the desert's edge. Behind it, tawny cliffs rise to the plateau of the Sahara. In the Valley of the Kings' Tombs, a natural basin just behind the Theban cliffs, were buried the great Pharaohs of the Egyptian Empire. The spot is now known to all the world as the site of Tutenkhamon's tomb.

Chicago House, some 220 feet long, is in two parts, divided by a little avenue. Visible in this picture are the open-air veranda (right), the domed living-room (center), the dining-hall (with three arched windows), and some of the living-quarters (extreme left). In the second building, behind and parallel to this one, are the Rosenwald Library, drafting-room, general offices, living-quarters, electric generator plant, and garage.

oriental science in Egypt during the entire century of its existence. The resulting encouragement and inspiration have been of incalculable value.

Like the Institute as a whole, the Epigraphic Expedition owes its beginnings and its first building to the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Mr. Julius Rosenwald later contributed funds for the

FIG. 3.—INTERIOR VIEW OF THE ROSENWALD LIBRARY

enlargement of the first building and the erection of a second which should include also the library. The General Education Board then appropriated funds for the purchase of the books and an endowment for the maintenance of the library. As this report goes to press, the work of the Institute has been assured permanence by the gift of funds for a new headquarters building at the University of Chicago, an endowment for teaching, and an annual subvention for the maintenance of all its researches at home and abroad for the next ten years.

The subjoined report is intended as a sketch of the work of the

two sections of the Institute organization at Medinet Habu, the first report being the work of Dr. Nelson, the second, that of Professor Hoelscher. Both of these gentlemen, and likewise the staff, are, as it seems to the editor, to be congratulated on the success of the work which they have accomplished. The first instalment of collotype plates containing the facsimiles of the reliefs and inscriptions of Medinet Habu will be issued in 1929; but the results of the Architectural Survey, which is now engaged in the excavation of the palace around the great Medinet Habu temple, will not appear in final form until some later date. It is expected that the records on the temple walls, when completed by the Epigraphic Survey, will be published in a series of probably five volumes, while the Architectural Survey of the buildings will fill at least one additional volume.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

NAPLES
January 14, 1929

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I

THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

(SEASONS 1924–25 TO 1927–28)

By HAROLD H. NELSON

The history of the lands around the eastern end of the Mediterranean is full of seemingly cataclysmic disturbances which from time to time have swept away governments, have wrought untold misery to hundreds of thousands of people, and have introduced new elements into an already greatly mixed population. When, however, the upheaval has ended and normal political life has returned once more, it has soon been evident in most instances that no profound change has resulted from the turmoil. The masses may have received new masters, old dynasties may have given way to new; but the same social structure, with perhaps a few changes here and there, has emerged from the storm almost unshaken, the new racial elements have been little by little assimilated, and the dominant type of society that had been slowly evolving through the centuries has continued to mold the individual to its form without noticeable deflection from the immemorial line of development.

The year 1200 B.C. marked roughly the culmination of one such disturbance in the political life of the Ancient East, which produced a real change, as profound perhaps as any that has swept over those lands—a change unrivaled in its far-reaching effects save by the conquests of Alexander, the spread of Islam, or the transformations still in process that have followed the World War. The old state system of the second millennium B.C. was the zenith of the Bronze Age culture of the Orient. That millennium saw the fall of the empire of the

First Dynasty of Babylon, the great days of the Minoan civilization, the rise and decline of the Egyptian world-power of the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty, the first expansion of Assyria on the west of the Euphrates and its precipitate retirement, and both the emergence and the eclipse of the Hittite dominance. With the beginning of the first millennium B.C. a new group of states appeared, heirs to the earlier cultures, but different in name and greater in power. The Assyrian Empire, the Medes and Persians, the Greeks, belonged to a world more comprehensible to the modern man; for the older world had advanced another step along the lines of political and cultural development. The newer society would have been utterly impossible without the older orders of the second millennium behind it.

About four centuries before 1200 B.C., the Egyptian princes of Thebes in Upper Egypt, then apparently vassals of the Hyksos, the foreign lords of Lower Egypt, put themselves at the head of the accumulated national resentment arising from the harsh rule of these invaders and in a series of campaigns drove out the stranger. Into the position of power left vacant by the departure of the Hyksos the Thebans stepped, and found themselves the masters of Egypt with more real power over the country than any other line of rulers had possessed since the early kings of the Fourth Dynasty. Pursuing the retreating invaders into Palestine, these new, military Pharaohs established Egyptian power on such a basis that, in spite of intervals of mismanagement and internal disorganization at home, the name of Pharaoh was that most feared for centuries. Pushing on, they laid their hands upon Syria also, until in the region of the upper Euphrates, from Aleppo eastward, they encountered the new and vigorous kingdom of Mitanni, which brought their advance to an end.

The period elapsing between the middle of the fifteenth century, when Egypt and Mitanni first met, and the middle of the twelfth century, when Mitanni had disappeared and the Egyptian and Hittite empires had collapsed, is politically dominated by the struggle between the two latter powers for the control of Syria-Palestine. By the middle of the thirteenth century a sort of balance had been evolved. Mitanni had disappeared as an independent kingdom, ground to pieces amid the struggles of its neighbors; and its position in North

Syria had been taken by the Hittites of Asia Minor under a vigorous line of rulers. International relations among the kings of the day assumed a system and were carried on along lines of policy fairly clearly discernible from a large mass of contemporary documents. An orderly world, as international relations go, seemed to be emerging; and an equilibrium among the powers appeared to have been attained. But just when the pattern began to form in the kaleidoscope of shifting peoples and incessant wars, the incoming of a new racial element, taking advantage of the internal decay following on imperial achievement, brought about the sweeping change already spoken of as culminating about 1200 B.C.

The new peoples who were the instruments by which this change was wrought were the archaic Greeks and related tribes. In a series of invasions from the Balkans they swept over the shores and islands of the Aegean, brought to a close the wonderful society of Minoan days, developed the Mycenaean and kindred cultures, and confronted the Hittites of Asia Minor who stood in the way of their advance inland from the Aegean littoral. This struggle between the newcomers and the representatives of the old mainland culture gave rise, among other events, to the Trojan War, in which Troy attempted to hold the gate against what she probably regarded as barbarism. In the end the ancient stronghold fell. By that time, about 1200 B.C., the tide of invasion from Europe had swept across Asia Minor, broken up the Hittite Empire, and spread out over the peninsula. In all this turmoil elements of the older populations were dislodged from their places; and if they were not caught up by the advancing wave of invasion, they fled before it in search of new homes. Many of these northerners, both newcomers and vanquished, were well acquainted with the sea. The earlier appearances of the barbarians must probably be regarded as piratical descents upon the rich islands and coastal cities. As the disintegration of the older states went on, these ancient "vikings" probably increased in numbers and extended their depredations farther and farther to the south till at last they reached the shores of Africa. There they found in the rich cities of the Nile Delta a most attractive prize awaiting successful adventure, together with a political situation apparently presenting excellent opportunity for their

piratical attacks. Hence it came about that they allied themselves with the ancient enemies of Egypt, the Libyans, and fell upon the rich and flourishing districts of the Delta.

From the beginning of Egyptian history the Libyans living to the west of the Delta had been attracted by the rich lands of their neighbors and, whenever opportunity presented itself, had attempted to cross the border into these fertile regions watered by the Nile. Under the relaxing grasp of the aged Ramses II, Egyptian control of the frontier would seem to have weakened; and his son, Merneptah, found himself faced by a formidable eastward movement of the border tribes. It was in connection with these efforts of the Libyans to settle in the Delta that the sea-rovers of the North found an opportunity to attack the Delta coasts. Merneptah was able, after strenuous efforts, to beat off both the Libyans and the northerners; but though he claimed a complete victory, it is quite apparent that the danger was more formidable than the Pharaoh would have us believe. In the troubled years following Merneptah's death the Libyan menace was renewed. When shortly after 1200 B.C. Ramses III came to the throne, he too found the safeguarding of his western Delta districts a problem calling for his best efforts. Under date of the year 5 of his reign he records what he would have us regard as an overwhelming victory over the hereditary foe. The same account also speaks of troubles in Syria and of raids by the northern peoples. In the account as it stands, however, there is no necessary connection between these events; on the other hand, there is no conclusive evidence to the contrary. It would at least seem that by the Pharaoh's fifth year Egypt found herself on the defensive all along her northern frontiers.

Again, under date of the eighth year of his reign, Ramses III recorded another attack from the North, this time a far more threatening danger than the earlier piratical raids of his own or preceding reigns. Whereas the earlier efforts of the northern hordes had consisted merely of attacks by sea upon the coastal regions of the Delta, the troubles in Syria recorded under the year 8 and probably under the year 5 also had apparently been caused by a mass movement from Asia Minor in which the peoples of the southern part of the peninsula, dislodged from their homes by the newcomers from Europe, had moved southward not only in a military *invasion* but in a comprehensive *migration*, with their families and possessions, to seek new

homes in the Asiatic provinces of Egypt. Ramses III seems to have appreciated the formidable nature of the crisis. He must fight by both land and sea, for the enemy ships would seem to have co-operated with the main body moving by land. The local resources of Palestine,

FIG. 4.—EGYPTIAN INFANTRY ON THE MARCH, SHOWING FOREIGN MERCENARIES

The artist has plainly attempted to suggest the representative character of the imperial army, composed as it was of troops from various nationalities. In this section of the scene reproduced on Plate VII of *Medinet Habu*, Vol. I, we have first a rank of native Egyptians, then three ranks of foreigners. Of these latter, the foremost are Sherden, men with horned helmets surmounted by a ball or disk, alternating with warriors wearing feathered headdresses, possibly Philistines. Then comes a group of Bedouins from the Sinaitic desert and southern Palestine. Finally appears a Nubian contingent from the Egyptian provinces in the south. The Egyptians were plainly making an extensive and dangerous use of non-Egyptian forces as the warlike enthusiasm that had carried the Eighteenth Dynasty arms so far afield declined with the passing centuries.

all that was then left of the Asiatic empire established by the Eighteenth Dynasty, were fully drawn upon; and the Pharaoh himself led out to meet the enemy the best force at his command, composed of Egyptian foot and chariotry with contingents of foreigners, either mercenaries or slave troops (Fig. 4). In the ensuing conflict by both land and sea Ramses claims to have secured a complete victory and

FIG. 5.—TWO PHILISTINES LED CAPTIVE BY AN EGYPTIAN OFFICER

He is conducting them into the presence of the Pharaoh. Such evidence of prowess was recognized by the monarch with suitable rewards. The peculiar manacles in the form of a fish, suspended round the neck of the prisoner by a cord, are characteristic of the period. In other instances of this scene a similar device in the form of a lion is used. Just why the fish and the lion were employed is unknown.

to have destroyed or captured the enemy (Fig. 5). Be that as it may, this is the last time that we hear of these northern hordes menacing the Egyptian borders. That they were not by any means so completely annihilated as Ramses would have us believe is evident from the fact that the Philistines, who formed an important group of the enemy, were ere long settled on the Palestinian coast, well within the frontiers which Ramses claimed to have defended successfully against them.

In later years Ramses recorded further wars in Syria and against the Libyans. None of these campaigns was concerned with the northern invaders. The last dated war is that of the year 11, against the Libyans. This conflict seems to have grown out of an attack on the Delta even more determined than that of the year 5. Apparently the former defeat merely checked the Libyan advance for a time. Ramses' defense of his frontier on this occasion would seem to have been at least as successful as his previous efforts, and for the time being the danger was warded off.

Though the Pharaoh reigned for more than thirty years, we have no further record of warlike activities, the only event connected with his later years being a harem conspiracy that threatened the monarch's life. Whether this silence is due to the absence of anything deemed worthy of record, a peaceful twenty years ensuing upon the stormy period following his accession, or whether the later years were darkened by disaster and brought no victories to record, we do not know. Whatever the reason, the record, so full for the first eleven or twelve years, is silent for the latter part of Ramses III's life. We know that eventually both the Libyans and the northerners gained the objectives from which the Pharaoh had once repelled them. Little by little the former penetrated into and settled in the western Delta, while the Philistines and their allies, the Thekel, took possession of the Palestinian coastal plain. We know only the accomplished fact. When and how the frontier was crossed are hidden from us.

With the decline of imperial power after the end of Ramses III's reign, in the middle of the twelfth century B.C. the Bronze Age civilization of the second millennium B.C. came to an end. The northerners seem to have brought with them the commoner use of iron. The stage was cleared of the old combatants, and new states appeared. The world took another step along the road of its development.

Our knowledge of the earlier phases of this great migration of the

northern peoples is derived from various sources. The documentary evidence consists chiefly of the Hittite archives and the Egyptian monuments. For the final stages of the losing struggle of the old states against these newcomers we must rely almost entirely on the reliefs and inscriptions with which Ramses III adorned the walls of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu in the necropolis of Thebes. It is from these records and a few references in the great Papyrus Harris that we learn the story of the activities of the Pharaoh's early years.

Apparently very shortly after his accession to the throne Ramses III, in accordance with immemorial custom, began his preparation for the time when he must pass from an earthly throne to become identified with the ruler of the realms of the dead. His great mortuary temple of Medinet Habu, at the southern end of the Theban necropolis, is the best preserved of all the older temples of Egypt and is evidence of the thoroughness with which he made these preparations (Fig. 6). The temple is a large building, about 140 meters long and 50 meters wide (Fig. 7). Its rear halls are largely in ruins, the upper portions of their columns, with the roof they supported, being lost. Many of the side rooms where the cultus objects were stored, and others which served as minor chapels, still survive largely or even wholly intact. More important is the extraordinary preservation of the first two courts and the outer walls of the building; for they still bear their sculptured embellishment of great war reliefs and scenes from the chief festivals celebrated in the temple, accompanied by long inscriptions—poetical effusions containing much laudation of the king but also recounting in usually obscure diction the chief military events of Ramses III's reign. These priceless records are intact save where the natural decay of the stone and the destruction caused by subsequent use of the building as a monastery and dwelling-place in Coptic days have in places inflicted considerable damage (Fig. 8).

As this building was intended to form the chief monument of his reign, Ramses III, like his predecessors under similar circumstances, covered its walls with scenes from that phase of his activities which would insure him the greatest approval in the sight of both gods and men. In the places most accessible to the general observer, that is, on the outside of the temple and in the two great courts, were carved the records of the king's public achievements—his wars, his deeds of

FIG. 6.—THE NILE VALLEY AS SEEN FROM THE CLIFFS BEHIND MEDINET HABU

In the middle of the picture may be seen the fortified inclosure within which stand the ruins of Ramses III's temple and other buildings of both earlier and later date. The dark mounds of earth surrounding the temple are the remains of the massive inclosure wall of unburned brick erected by the king to convert the site into a fortress as well as a temple. Just beyond the temple, in the cultivated valley bottom, appear heaps of earth marking the borders of a lake which Amenhotep III had excavated for his queen, Tiy. Farther in the distance are the Nile River and the cliffs bounding the Nile Valley on the east.

FIG. 7.—GREAT TEMPLE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU, VIEWED FROM THE NORTHEAST

On the long north wall (at right) are records of four campaigns told in words and pictures, each picture with its accompanying inscription a chapter in the war history of the time. On the front of the great pylon appear huge representations of the king slaughtering groups of his enemies before his god. Between the recesses in which stood the flag poles on each side of the main gateway are long poems lauding the king's exploits and recounting the benefits he has received from the gods. From the doorway in the north end of the pylon a stairway leads to a landing above the main entrance, whence two other stairs lead to the tops of the pylon towers.

FIG. 8.—RAMSES III SETS OUT ON HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE LIBYANS

Before the king's chariot is another, bearing the standard of Amon. Thus the god accompanied the king on his campaign, just as the Ark of the Covenant went with the Hebrews into battle. As the inscriptions put it, the god opened the way before the Pharaoh. Before the god's chariot and also in the register below are the Egyptian forces, foot and chariotry. The relief has been sadly defaced by Coptic monks, who cut windows (modernly closed with masonry) through the wall at this spot when they converted the temple into a monastery.

prowess in the hunt, and his part in the great state festivals. The remaining portions of the building show the monarch in the performance of his religious duties, participating in the various acts of the temple service. The outside of the entire south wall from the rear to the second pylon (see Fig. 28) is covered with one of the longest inscriptions in existence, giving the chief feasts celebrated at the temple and a list of the offerings made at each feast. This festival calendar inscription, notwithstanding its enormous length, is plainly only an excerpt from a much fuller document written on papyrus and now of course lost to us. All these records were intended to bring out vividly the Pharaoh's claim on divine favor by showing his activities in behalf of the gods and thus to insure his good standing with them against the day when he himself would join them, taking his place in the world beyond among the other "great gods," his predecessors on the "Throne of Horus." A good reputation in the mouths of both men and gods was a passport to happiness in the West, the realm of the dead.

The Epigraphic Expedition of the Oriental Institute was organized in the first place to make a complete record of the Medinet Habu temple inscriptions and reliefs. The scope of the work was later extended to include the architecture as well. For two years the staff consisted of three men: an epigrapher (who was also field director), an artist, and a photographer. The inscriptional records were to be the chief interest of the expedition, the scale of the drawings made being determined by the legibility of the hieroglyphs in the final published plates. Under this system the reproduction of the reliefs was necessarily sketchy, omitting many details too small to be included in the drawings. Even on such a scale the task was a large one and would have demanded a long period for its completion.

As the work proceeded, however, several limitations of this method became apparent. In the first place, the drawing of less common signs was seen to be paleographically inadequate. The pictographic character of the Egyptian system of writing adds to many words a fulness which was lost unless the details of each individual hieroglyph could be clearly given. The determinatives of many words graphically supplement the bare root meaning by additional shades of thought unavoidably lost in the smaller scale of reproduction which was at first used. In the second place, the reliefs, upon careful study, proved to be

full of new, picturesque, interesting, and important details necessarily omitted in the sketchy drawings at first contemplated. They thus failed to record many valuable archaeological elements and fell far short of being an exhaustive record of the original wall in all particulars. In the third place, it soon became clear that the value of the reliefs as works of art was of a higher order than has generally been accredited to them. The limited scale of reproduction at first proposed failed largely to bring out effectively the *artistic* value of these great temple reliefs. In this situation we were finally confronted by a clearly defined question: Were we ready to adopt the principle of making our facsimiles a complete and final record of the original wall, including both reliefs and inscriptions? Our affirmative decision meant that we must scrap the work of the first two seasons and redraw the plates on a larger and more adequate scale which would make them paleographically, archaeologically, and artistically as final and complete a record of the entire original wall as human fallibility could reasonably expect to attain.

In accordance with this revised plan of procedure the staff of the expedition was increased after the end of the second season by the addition of two epigraphers and two artists. At the same time, by the generosity of Mr. Julius Rosenwald and of the General Education Board, the Institute was able to instal an Egyptological library (Fig. 3), now numbering 4,000 volumes, which was absolutely essential to the accurate progress of the work, and to attach a librarian to the staff. With this enlarged force and aided by the valuable experience of the first two seasons, the process of recording was once more begun. The interest and enthusiasm displayed by all concerned advanced the completion of the plates more rapidly than was expected, so that at the end of the fourth season, April 15, 1928, the material for the first volume of plates on the enlarged scale was ready for the press.

There are over 1,600 linear feet of historical reliefs, picture after picture, both outside and inside the temple, showing in minute detail the story of the Pharaoh's wars. Step after step, the successive campaigns are graphically ranged upon the walls, from the receipt of news reporting enemy activities on the frontier and the commissioning of the king by his god to undertake the defense of the realm (Fig. 9) through the actual march to battle, the triumph on the field, the return to the capital, and the Pharaoh's appearance before the supreme

god of the Empire to render account of his stewardship. These various series of reliefs form each a sort of cinema of the war; but it must be remembered in considering their historicity that the Pharaoh was

FIG. 9.—RAMSES III RECEIVES FROM AMON-RE A SWORD WITH THE COMMISSION TO UNDERTAKE THE FIRST LIBYAN WAR.

The supreme god (at right), enthroned within his shrine and attended by his son Chonsu, the moon god, receives his royal son Ramses, who is followed by Thoth, the herald of the gods. The inscription directly before the knees of Amon reads: "Take thou the sword, my son, my beloved, that thou mayest smite the heads of the rebellious countries." This scene probably represents some ceremony which actually took place in the great temple of Amon at Karnak, wherein a divine oracle was delivered, commanding the undertaking of the war. By the time of Ramses III's reign many, if not most, of such important decisions were reached only with the expressed approval of the god.

actor, producer, and censor all in one. They are plainly a partisan presentation ascribing all the glory to the royal prowess and depriving the enemy of even as much spirit as would in modern days be considered necessary to make a victory seem worth the trouble of recording.

While these records are partisan, they yet contain a vast mass of material which the historian can use with discrimination. There is here a great quantity of priceless wheat, which it is not difficult to sift from the chaff. The main facts of the wars and of the movements of northern peoples which made the wars necessary are there. Details of strategy, diplomatic activity preceding or following the wars, the final

FIG. 10.—TWO SHACKLED PRISONERS CAPTURED BY THE EGYPTIANS FROM THE CREWS OF THE NORTHERN RAIDERS.

The effort of the Egyptian artist to bring out in their faces racial characteristics is plainly apparent, in contrast with the placid features of the two Egyptian warriors standing in front of them. The two captives are possibly Sherden, though more probably they belong to one of the other northern hordes which menaced the Empire during Ramses III's reign.

settlement of the difficulties—these are lacking from the record. Though the various scenes depicted may be highly colored to produce the impression that the successes claimed were due almost entirely to the Pharaoh in person, still the incidental details which form the background of the picture are drawn from the actual experience of the artists or of those who guided the artists' work. These wall pictures, disclosing to us costume, equipment, weapons, methods of warfare, racial characteristics (Fig. 10), and military organization, are a revela-

tion of ancient life from all sides of the eastern Mediterranean, and especially from Southeastern Europe. The Egyptian artist's rendering of such details would not be distorted by racial prejudice, national pride, or pharaonic vanity, and is without doubt reliable. As works of art, moreover, the reliefs are an unexpected revelation, for they possess far greater artistic merit than has formerly been ascribed to them (Fig. 11).

The inscriptions which accompany the reliefs are also a mine of philological riches, though the verbose style and the straining after effect which characterize them often obscure the modicum of fact they contain (Fig. 12). The chief aim of the author or authors of the inscriptions was not to narrate history but to laud the monarch in the most approved style of the time. They bear much the same relation to the more sober narratives of the Eighteenth Dynasty that the late Silver Latin does to the writings of the great days of Roman literature. On the other hand, in dealing with any literature of so remote a period as the reign of Ramses III we must remember that what has survived probably represents only a small residue of what was actually written about the events recorded, and that what has perished may have been far more informative and far freer from defects of style, as judged by classical standards, than what has remained would indicate. Ramses III too will have had his military scribes who accompanied the Pharaoh on his campaigns and recorded the events of each day as did those of Thutmose III. But like Thutmose III's roll of leather with its straightforward narrative, Ramses III's annals may have been written only to perish, leaving us merely the poetic rhapsodies of some court laureate more interested in securing the approval of his master than in telling the true story of his wars.

Besides many miscellaneous but still uncompleted copies and notes made by the expedition, its *completed* work now comprises the records of three campaigns: first, a razzia into Nubia, occupying three scenes; second, the first campaign against the Libyans, filling six scenes on the outer wall of the temple and four scenes in the second court, besides a long inscription of seventy-five lines in the same court; third, the war against the northern peoples, made up of eight scenes and one long inscription of thirty-eight lines, of which some are on the

FIG. 11.—RAMSES III SETS OUT UPON HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE LIBYANS.

The king is shown, in the attitude of some hero on a Greek vase painting, in the act of mounting his chariot. Behind him are troops from whom the monarch has just turned. These are just rising from a deep obeisance, while the men before him are bowing down in reverence. At the horses' heads is a fine figure of a groom grasping the reins in one hand and reaching up with the other to stroke the muzzles of the restive animals.

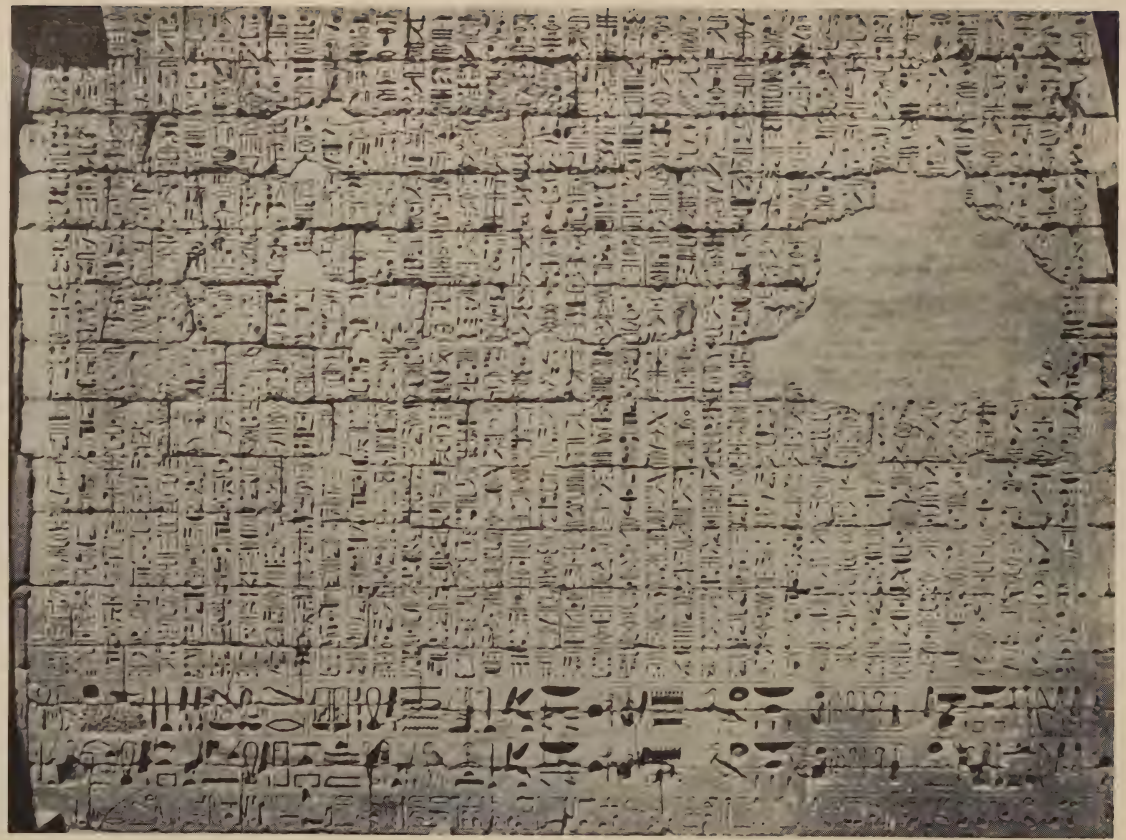

FIG. 12.—THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF YEAR EIGHT

This long text from the first court of the temple contains our chief account of the attack upon the Egyptian frontiers made by the northern invaders during Ramses III's reign. For the period it is well carved, a good piece of hieroglyphic cutting. The style of the author is florid and full of exaggerated metaphors. The historical portion occupies only about one-third of the whole, the remainder being laudation of the king's prowess and of his benefactions to his country.

outer wall and some within the first court. These twenty-one vast relief scenes and two enormously long inscriptions occupy altogether over thirty-five plates now completed, two of which are in color. In addition, a considerable number of plates belonging to the next volume have been either partly or wholly prepared. Along with the preparation of the plates has gone the writing of a textual commentary as well as a commentary on the reliefs, both of which are well advanced and, it is hoped, will appear shortly after the volume of plates.

Of this material, the six scenes from the west wall of the temple, being the three of the Nubian war and the first three from the war with the Libyans, have never been previously published. A number of the remaining scenes have been published either in photographic reproductions or in line drawings. Of the latter, practically all are the work of the great recording expeditions of the early and middle part of the nineteenth century. In view of these earlier publications, the question may be raised why republication should be necessary. The experience of the expedition during its work at Medinet Habu has amply justified the republishing of this material. Even the excellent photographs contained in some of the latest publications, while they render very successfully the plastic effect of the original, suffer from limitations inherent in photography. A photograph is an incomplete and often misleading record of an ancient sculptured document, both because it shows any given wall with all the injuries that time and vandalism have inflicted, and especially because it unavoidably shows the wall as seen under only one lighting. At the same time it is seen from only one point of view, and that a distant one. Many of the details observable by the trained eye will be found on careful study of the original either to have escaped the camera altogether or to have been rendered only half intelligibly. The older line drawings, on the other hand, while they are remarkable achievements for their time, would no longer be considered at all adequate according to modern standards of accuracy and completeness. The early draftsmen overlooked or misunderstood an extraordinary amount of interesting detail and often misinterpreted what they included, so that they are everywhere very misleading.

In the drawings embodying the work of the Epigraphic Expedition the first object has been accuracy, the second, inclusiveness, or as

near an approach as possible to completeness. Any line drawing must of necessity fail to give the plastic effect of the carving and is therefore only a partial record of the sculptor's art. It can at most give a faithful picture of the composition. But on the other hand, within this limitation it can give the design without the accidental distractions

FIG. 13.—A BATTLEFIELD COVERED WITH DEAD AND DYING LIBYANS

It must be remembered that, in depicting such a scene, Egyptian artistic convention required the beholder to look down upon the surface of the field at the prostrate enemy and at the same time to look across the field at those still standing. Some of the Libyans depicted here are lying on the ground, while others are standing. The color with which this relief was covered is well preserved in the original, but is of course lost in the photograph.

occasioned by the many injuries to the wall, and it can include much which the camera records either obscurely or not at all (Figs. 13 and 14). It can bring to bear upon the reproduction not only the mechanical accuracy of the camera but also the trained eye of the artist, in turn checked and guided by the special knowledge of the Egyptologist. All of the drawings completed at the end of last season were thus gone over again and again, every square inch of the wall being carefully scrutinized and the drawings collated with it repeatedly.

One point which is perhaps frequently forgotten in dealing with these war reliefs is the fact that what has survived, even where the carving is well preserved, is only a part of the original record. All the reliefs were, when first completed, colored in minute detail. How minute this detail was is apparent only when a now colorless scene can

FIG. 14.—LINE DRAWING OF THE SAME SCENE AS THAT SHOWN PHOTOGRAPHICALLY IN FIGURE 13.

It is thus possible to compare the advantages and disadvantages of the photograph and the line drawing. While the plastic quality of the former is missing in the latter, the details of the composition are much clearer in the line drawing. The drawing contains some suggestion of the painted details also, such as the pools of blood between bodies and the flowers growing among the slain. The background is colored red to represent the desert land, while the outlines of a hill across which the enemy flee can be plainly discerned. The distractions arising from the injuries to the wall are less obtrusive in the drawing than in the photograph.

be compared with an approximately similar scene on which the coloring has been largely preserved. Fortunately at Medinet Habu a considerable number of reliefs still retain some part of their paint. On the outside of the north wall there is a relief depicting Ramses III in battle with the Libyans. As with all the reliefs thus exposed to sun and weather, no water colors such as Egyptian painters used for such work

could be expected to survive; merely the sculptured foundation of the design remains. In the second court, however, a wall protected by the roofed colonnade bears a similar scene from the same war. Here, in the upper portions of the relief, even the water-color paint is unusually well preserved, and we find that the bare sculpture has been extensively supplemented by painted details distinctly enriching the composition. The colors of the garments worn by the Libyans stand out clearly. Between the bodies of the slain as they lie upon the battlefield appear pools of blood. The painter has suggested the presence of the open country by painting in wild flowers which spring up among the dead. Moreover, it is apparent that the action takes place in a hilly region, for streams of blood run down between the bodies as the enemy attempt to escape across the hills from the Pharaoh's pursuing shafts. The details of the monarch's accouterments are indicated in color, relieving him of the almost naked appearance often presented by his sculptured figure when divested of its paint. It is not infrequent to find such details as bow strings or lance shafts partly carved and partly represented merely in paint. The characteristic tattoo marks on the bodies of the Libyans are also given in pigment only. When all these painted details have disappeared, though the sculptured design may remain in fairly good condition, much of the life of the original scene is gone and many aids to its interpretation are lost. The expedition is endeavoring, as far as possible, to make a complete record of all the color surviving in these important scenes.

Another point not always appreciated in dealing with these Medinet Habu reliefs is the extensive ancient use of plaster to cover up defects in the masonry and to eliminate lines or whole figures which, although already carved into the stone, were nevertheless expunged from the final composition. The surfaces of the temple walls, when the masons had done with them, presented many hollows or depressions where certain stones did not come out quite to the plane of their fellows. These hollows, as well as the interstices between the stones, were filled with plaster so as to present an even surface to the artists who were to adorn the building. This plaster, especially in the exposed portions of the wall, has for the most part fallen away, carrying with it practically all of the design once carved into or painted upon it. Though this method of work was slovenly, the result pro-

duced when the building was new was not, for the time being, unpleasing; but it has had disastrous effects on the permanency of the records.

Not only was plaster thus extensively used for covering up defects in the masonry, but, as suggested above, it constantly appears in a surprisingly large number of contemporary corrections both in the inscriptions and in the reliefs. It seems at times difficult to account for the original faulty drawings. Presumably there were in charge of the work one or more competent artists under whose eyes every composition on the wall must have passed. In order to divide up the wall into areas suitable for the scenes it was proposed to place upon them, someone must have apportioned the space and must have had before him at least sketches of the various reliefs to guide him in the work. In general, the different areas of relief fit in well together without overcrowding of the subjects within any one area. There is evident design, therefore, in the apportionment of space. But within any one scene there have been introduced many changes which would indicate either careless supervision or the absence of detailed copy furnished the ancient draftsmen by the master sculptor.

For instance, in several of the reliefs on the north wall between the two pylons there have been extensive alterations in the figures of the king's horses (Fig. 15) and also in some cases of the king himself. In most of these instances the original design shows the horses drawn in heavy and awkward lines, and revision was therefore plainly intended to remedy this defect. In such cases the method used for making the corrections was to cut deep rectangular holes along all very deeply cut lines to be eliminated, and also to roughen the surface of the shallower cuttings. When the whole was then covered with a new plaster surface, the deep holes served to hold this new plaster covering, especially in places where it was thickest. The revised design was then carved into the wall, where part of it was of course in the stone and part in the new plaster as the case might be.

All the plaster having later fallen off, the curious effect is sometimes presented of a horse with four hind legs, two of which had been originally covered with plaster. It is difficult to understand, however, except on the supposition of careless supervision, why these changes were not made in the *drawings* which must have been placed upon the wall to guide the sculptor in his work. That such sketches were made

before the carving was begun is clear from many places where the lines can still be seen along the edges of the figures.

The necessity for such corrections is still more difficult to understand in such instances as that where five plumes appear arising from the heads of two horses attached to the royal chariot. These five were

FIG. 15.—RAMSES III'S HORSES, SHOWING WHERE EXTENSIVE ALTERATIONS WERE MADE IN THE DRAWING OF THE ANIMALS.

The deep cuttings across the heavily recessed first outline of the horses' figures were made to hold in place the thick plaster with which these portions of the original figures of the animals were obliterated. The lighter lines appearing alongside these earlier lines represent the final stage of the work. As the plaster has fallen away, both the original and the corrected form of the animals may now be seen.

afterward changed to four, two for each horse. The change was not due to alteration in the form of the horses, but merely to mistake in the number made by the sculptor in the original design. There are even instances where alterations have been made in the forms of hieroglyphs without changing the identity of the hieroglyphs themselves (Fig. 16). In other words, the construction of Ramses III's

FIG. 16.—ANCIENT CORRECTIONS IN A SECTION OF THE LONG INSCRIPTION OF YEAR FIVE.

In the case of the bird at the left in each column, the form of the hieroglyph has been altered to improve its shape without changing the identity of the sign. Numerous modifications of this kind have been made in the inscriptions and reliefs at Medinet Habu.

FIG. 17.—A WARSHIP OF THE EGYPTIAN FLEET IN THE SCENE OF THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT WITH THE NORTHERNERS

This ship is in the upper left-hand corner of the scene. The ship and its crew have undergone extensive alterations at the hand of the ancient master. The photograph shows the confused character of the sculpture as it now appears on the wall—a confusion much increased by its damaged condition. A comparison of this photograph of the original work of the artist with the next cut, giving the same subject in line drawing, will illustrate the gain in clarity of the drawing at the sacrifice of the plastic impression conveyed by the photograph. The figure of the Egyptian at the bow of the boat, framed against his shield, is one of the most pleasing in the whole relief.

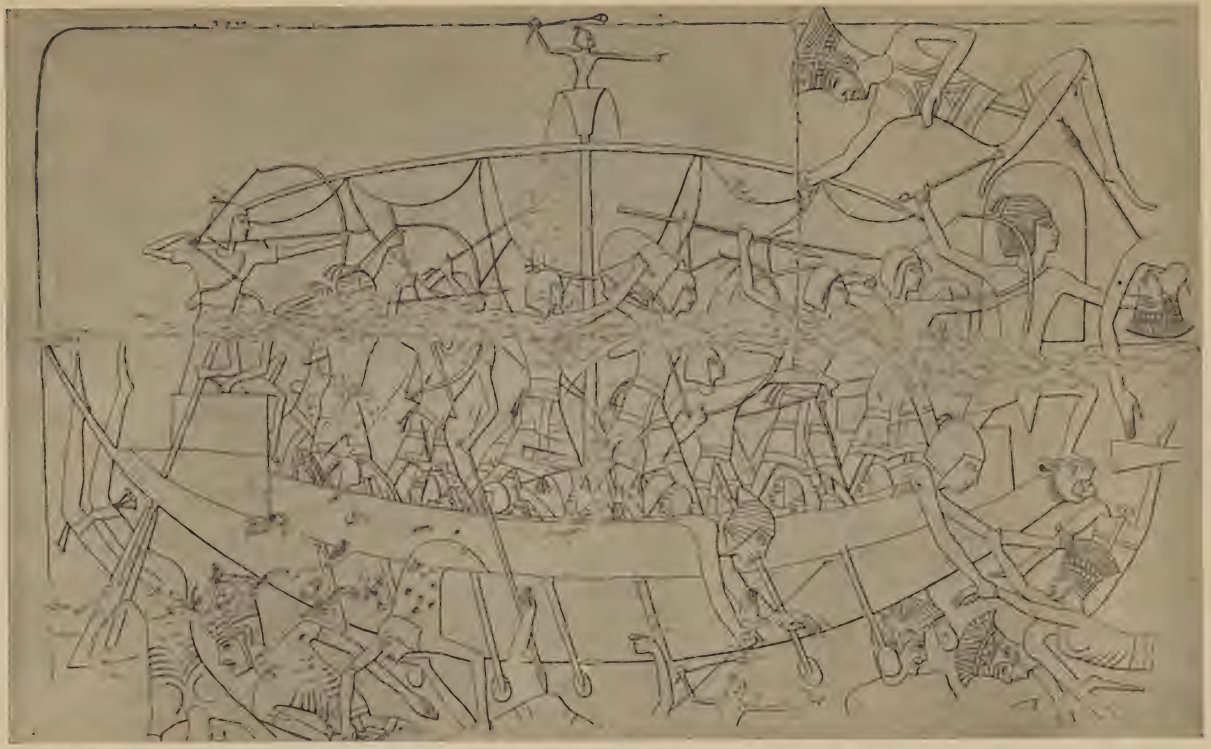

FIG. 18.—THE EGYPTIAN WARSHIP SHOWN IN THE PRECEDING PHOTOGRAPH REPRODUCED IN LINE DRAWING

As explained in the text on page 30, there appear among the completed figures a considerable number of lines which are all that remain of the revised rendering of this scene. The other parts of the composition as corrected have fallen away with the plaster with which the first draft, later rejected, was covered. As the design appears at present, the first version, which was almost totally obliterated when the artist finished his revision, is now the dominant one, while only remnants survive of the master's final, corrected conception.

FIG. 19.—THE EGYPTIAN WARSHIP OF FIGURE 17, SHOWING ONLY THAT PORTION OF THE COMPOSITION WHICH SEEMS TO BELONG TO THE FIRST DRAFT.

This shows the work which, doubtless at the instigation of some superior official artist, was rejected in favor of the more animated posing of the figures as shown in the next illustration. At the bottom of the boat and arising from the water at the line of the keel, note a hand which some drowning enemy, whose body is submerged beneath the surface, has thrust despairingly upward in a vain effort to grasp the side of the boat. This is an almost unique example of such suggestion of the unseen in Egyptian art and would alone mark the author of the scene as a man of original genius. As, however, the painted element of the design is entirely gone, we cannot be sure how far the present state of the composition represents the final state

FIG. 20.—THE EGYPTIAN WARSHIP OF FIGURE 17, BUT SHOWING ONLY THOSE LINES WHICH CAN WITH REASONABLE CERTAINTY BE ASCRIBED TO THE SECOND OR REVISED DRAFT.

The carving still surviving on the wall is represented in solid lines, while the partially completed figures are filled out in dotted lines. Enough of this second and final draft remains to enable us to complete the outline with considerable confidence. It can at once be seen that the composition has gained greatly in life and energy. It is distinctly more suggestive of eagerness for battle than is the preceding illustration. The small figure of a man pulling on a line attached to grappling hooks thrown into an enemy sail (Fig. 24), which appears in the first version, surprisingly does not seem to belong also to the final version. In his stead appears a still smaller man with upraised arms, engaged in some act the nature of which is uncertain.

mortuary temple was either hasty or it was carelessly supervised. There are also numerous alterations in minor details of the building plan. Some portions of the reliefs contain more corrections than others, as though inferior workmen were employed there as compared with those used elsewhere in the building.

Perhaps the most interesting example of changes due to the desire to improve the artistic effect is to be seen in the case of one of the boats in the naval engagement with the northerners depicted on the north wall of the temple (Fig. 17). The Egyptian ship in the upper left-hand corner of the scene presents, as it stands today, a confused mass of lines among which careful study can disengage the original design as it was completed by the ancient artist. Among the figures of the Egyptian crew appear suggestions of other figures only partly outlined—a leg here, an arm there, a portion of a head elsewhere. It is apparent that for some definite reason the whole composition has been radically altered (Fig. 18). If the completed figures are isolated from the incomplete ones, it is seen that they form a consistent whole, fairly pleasing in effect but less vigorous in action than some other groups (Fig. 19). If these figures, plainly belonging to what we may call the first draft, are disregarded and the incomplete figures are filled out, the various disconnected parts being united by dotted lines, the second draft is discernible as the same general composition shown in the first draft; but the actors in the second, improved draft display greater animation of posture, and the whole gives the impression of greater power and movement and eagerness for the fray (Fig. 20).

Here it is clear that some artist, probably the master sculptor, decided that the original picture was lacking in vigor and could be improved, even though at the cost of considerable labor. Accordingly it would seem that the first carving was plastered over in so far as it could not be utilized in the revised composition. In fact, traces of this obliteration still appear in the form of patches of plaster in some of the cuttings. Then in the unplastered portions of the wall, and probably in the plaster itself, was cut the corrected version or second draft of the scene, and the changes were masked by a liberal use of paint. Both plaster and paint have long since disappeared, and there remains today only the first conception of the artist plus those portions of the final picture that were carved in the stone itself.

It is of importance to observe that here the first form of the scene was not rejected because it contained mistakes, such as the five plumes for the two horses, nor because the figures were distorted, as in the case of the Pharaoh's chariot horses already mentioned. The alterations could only have been made in the interests of better art, and our modern judgment would certainly approve of the change on that score. We must regard this change as evidence that there were still artists

FIG. 21.—FACE OF A SLAIN PHILISTINE

Shown in full front view as the corpse floats upon the surface of the sea amid the wreckage of the northern invaders' fleet. The closed eyes and peaceful face suggest sleep rather than violent death. Still it is a highly successful effort in an art which always as far as possible avoided showing in relief the full face.

at the court of Ramses III whose critical judgment was good. It is noticeable, however, that, although the figures in the other Egyptian boats closely resemble in their attitudes those in the rejected design of the first boat, no effort was made to extend the alterations to them. Perhaps it was concluded that the extent of the emendations necessary to revise the whole would be too great to be undertaken. At any rate, when the revision of the first ship was completed, the others were left as they had been.

The intensive study of the reliefs has brought to light a number of lesser details of considerable interest to the archaeologist. The representations of foreigners so abundant on the temple walls have long been the subject of attention on the part of scholars everywhere. There are many fine heads among them, full of an individuality lacking as a rule in the conventionalized faces of Egyptians. The artist has

FIG. 22.—A DEAD PHILISTINE FROM THE NAVAL BATTLE WITH THE NORTHERNERS.

The closed eyes and fallen jaw, suggestive of death, are a triumph of the sculptor's art. Note how the artist has brought the face near to the surface of the stone while he has sunk the back of the head much deeper into the wall, thus avoiding the heavy shadows in the face, which would otherwise obscure the features of his subject.

indicated not merely the accessory elements of dress and weapons incident to this or that foreign nation, but the variations in features, expression, profile, and other physical characteristics are clearly marked. The facial renderings are in some cases unprecedented in the history of art. They not only discriminate between the living and the dead, but there is an unmistakable effort to make the features express fear, anguish, or distress (Figs. 21 and 22). Another unprecedented psychological element is to be recognized in the upthrown

arm of a drowning man (below the ship in Figs. 17–20). Older Egyptian art always showed the entire human figure in such a case; but the ancient artist at Medinet Habu has understood the horror suggested by the despairing gesture of a drowning enemy engulfed by the sea

FIG. 23.—EGYPTIAN TRUMPETER BLOWING A SALUTE

From Figure 11, upper left-hand corner. The trumpet is of the same design as the two silver ones found in the tomb of Tutenkhamon. These still contained wooden forms inserted when a trumpet was not in use to prevent it from being bent or dented, as no process was then known of hardening the silver sufficiently to withstand the rough usage it inevitably received on a campaign. In the illustration here given the wooden form has been withdrawn from the instrument and is tucked under the trumpeter's arm. The instrument depicted above was probably also of silver.

and invisible except for his upthrown arm. While observations of detail by Egyptian artists have occasionally been noted by archaeologists before, these renditions of emotion disclosed by facial expression have hitherto escaped detection.

It is interesting to observe securely tucked under the trumpeter's

arm the wooden form which was always carried *within* the trumpet when the instrument was not in use, to prevent the soft silver from being dented (Fig. 23). The form has been removed to allow the trumpet to be blown. Just what this object carried under the arm might be was not apparent till such a wooden form was found still in place within the silver trumpet discovered in Tutenkhamon's

FIG. 25.—BRANDING OF PRISONERS TAKEN IN BATTLE

Two brandings are going on. In each case an Egyptian official seizes the wrist of a captured northern enemy and presses against his right shoulder a branding tool which presumably bears the royal name, showing that the one branded therewith is now a slave of the Pharaoh. Immediately in front of the group of four prisoners at the right stands a brazier of live coals from which protrude the handles of branding tools being heated. This is a unique illustration, hitherto unnoticed, of a practice otherwise known only from a literary reference in the Papyrus Harris.

tomb. Again, in the naval engagement with the northerners we see for the first time the grappling iron as an instrument of warfare. It is not there used to bind ship to ship to facilitate boarding an enemy vessel, but rather it is thrown into the enemy rigging either to tear the sail or to overturn the light craft of the foe (Fig. 24).

In another place we have a scene illustrative of a passage (77:5–6) in Papyrus Harris where the king speaks to his god about captives "branded, made into slaves, stamped with my name." The scene refer-

FIG. 24.—DETAIL FROM THE NAVAL BATTLE BETWEEN THE EGYPTIANS AND THE NORTHERN PIRATES

One of the Egyptian vessels is engaged with an enemy ship. As usual in such scenes, the enemy make no resistance but are completely overcome and helpless. In the Egyptian vessel stands a man holding a rope the other end of which terminates in a set of grappling hooks entangled in the enemy's sail. Judging by another instance of the use of this instrument elsewhere in the same relief, it would seem that the Egyptians intended to tear the sail or disable the ship so as to render it helpless before the attack of the Egyptians. The ship of the northerners is fitted with a ram, though no oars are shown. Had the painted details of this scene survived, we should probably find that the figures of the enemy who now seem to be falling from the sky are in reality merely floating on the surface of the water.

red to shows Philistine captives led before the Pharaoh after the naval engagement. In front of his officers stands a brazier from which protrude the handles of branding tools. The Egyptians grasp the arm of each captive as he arrives and press the hot metal branding tool against

FIG. 26.—ORNAMENTED DISK FROM THE END OF THE PHARAOH'S CHARIOT POLE.

The decorative scene shows the king receiving a sword from the hand of some god who, to judge by his costume, must have been of foreign, probably Syrian, origin. The body of the disk is painted yellow to represent gold, the design being shown in red, possibly to indicate some sort of inlay. Such a disk, but with a different subject upon it, was found among the treasures of Tutenkhamon's tomb.

his right shoulder (Fig. 25). Elsewhere there is preserved the detail of the design that appears on the disk affixed to the end of the Pharaoh's chariot pole. It shows the king receiving a sword from a god whose dress strongly suggests some Syrian deity. This fits in well with the growing influence of Baal as a war god, following the foreign conquests of Egypt (Fig. 26).

All these and many other points, too numerous to mention here, have furnished constant surprises as the work of recording progressed. Taken together they form a considerable body of new material not observable in the old publications or not previously published at all. The vast mass of records at Medinet Habu contains a mine of information—historical, religious, archaeological, and artistic. With the help of every possible modern device it is the desire of the Oriental Institute to make these records available in reproductions as nearly accurate as human fallibility will permit, to be published as promptly as is compatible with the requisite accuracy.

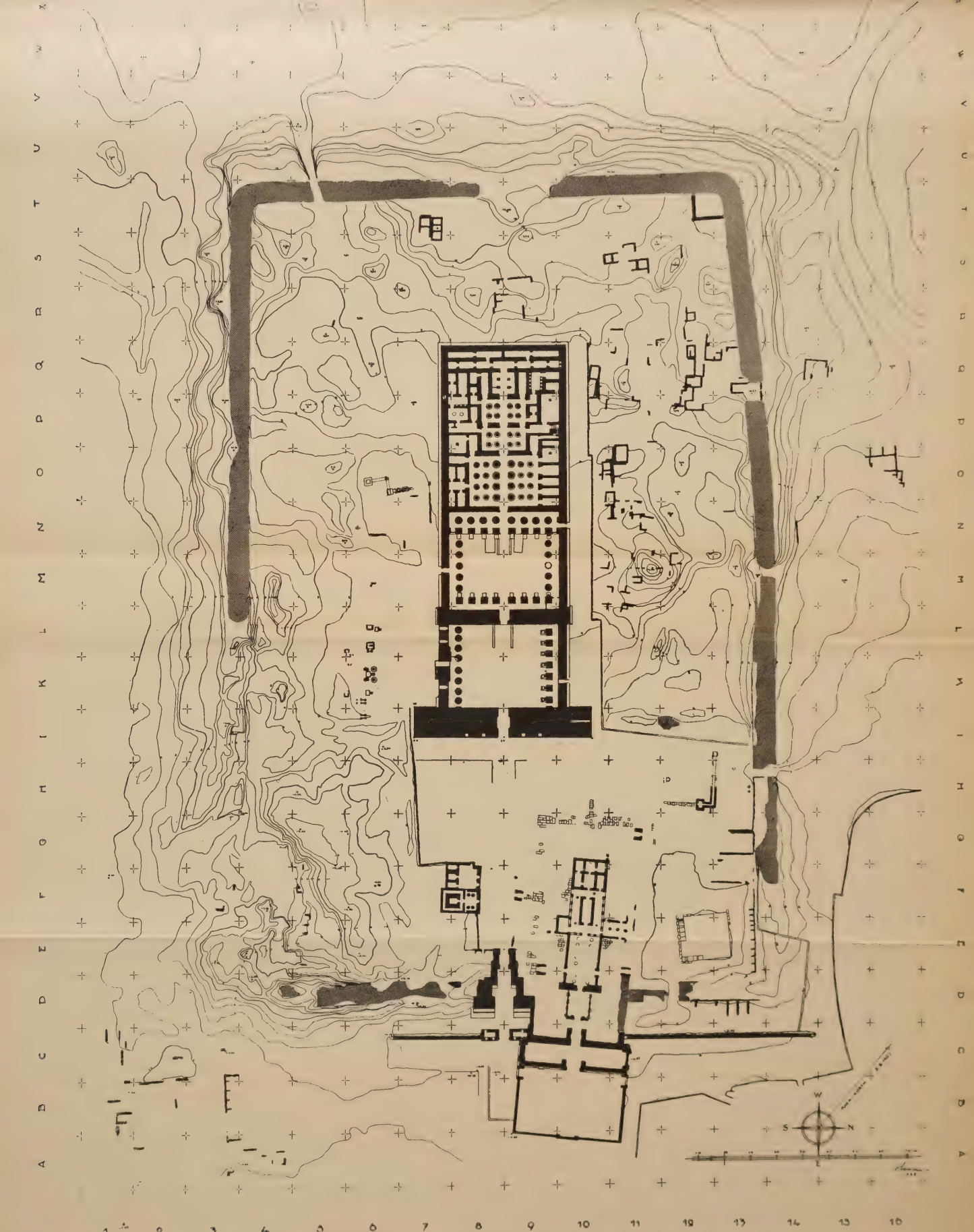

FIG. 27.—GROUND PLAN OF MEDINET HABU AS DISCERNIBLE BEFORE BEGINNING THE EXCAVATIONS

In the area immediately south of the first court of the great temple this plan discloses the two columns, one at each side of the king's throne, which are shown more clearly in hall *F* in Figure 30. The south end of the first pylon, with the south wall and the south colonnade of the first court, will also be recognized on a larger scale in the black portions of Figures 29 and 30.

II

THE ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY OF THE GREAT TEMPLE AND PALACE OF MEDINET HABU (SEASON 1927–28)

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After the epigraphic study and survey of Medinet Habu had reached an advanced stage, the Oriental Institute determined to supplement the exhaustive labors of the epigraphers and draftsmen with an architectural survey and investigation of the building for the purpose of merging the individual reliefs and inscriptions into an artistic and cultural *tout ensemble* of the entire temple.

In the winter of 1926–27, therefore, the survey of the great temple of Ramses III was begun. It gradually became more and more apparent, however, that unless those portions of the larger Ramessid precinct which adjoin the mortuary temple itself were included in the investigation, our architectural researches would remain a mere fragment. In other words, the entire great area implied in the name of Medinet Habu required excavation.

Certain isolated details had already long been known, as, for instance, the towered gateway[1] situated in the line of the fortress-like inclosure wall. This had served as a monumental entrance and at the same time contained in its interior certain rooms whose wall reliefs bear witness that the Pharaoh occasionally lingered here with the ladies of his harem. It was known, too, that just south of the temple there had stood a royal palace,[2] a fact confirmed by the excavations of Mr. Harry Burton in 1912, when he laid bare a few architectural features of the palace. But the nature and purpose of the extensive mud-brick structures which had filled the great inclosure of Medinet Habu remained unknown. Any conjectures to which one might incline were based largely on the Ramesseum, the mortuary temple of Ramses II, which had undoubtedly served as a model for Medinet Habu. Great vaulted storage magazines stretch along the sides and

[1] Hoelscher, *Das hohe Tor von Medinet Habu* (Leipzig, 1911). [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 48 ff.

rear of the Ramesseum; but the entire foreground of the area is totally destroyed, so that its original plan will probably never be clearly understood. A few column bases and fragmentary walls south of the temple forecourt give evidence that here also once stood a palace.

In contrast with the Ramesseum, the preservation of Medinet Habu is better in that its area lies entirely above the inundation level of the Nile. Here, therefore, and here only, one might hope to arrive at a complete understanding of the original ground plan of a pharaonic mortuary temple with all its dependencies. This argued naturally for the complete clearance and systematic investigation of the entire Medinet Habu inclosure.

The first campaign of excavation began on October 18, 1927, and continued till April 10, 1928. The author was assisted in the conduct of the field work and in the draftsman's record by Messrs. DeLoach and Steckeweh, while the photography was done for the most part by Mr. Lind, the photographer of the Megiddo Expedition.

We began the excavation with a staff of eight Upper Egyptian foremen whom we took over from the Megiddo Expedition, the excavations of which cease during the winter season. To these were added about twenty other Upper Egyptians, also from the vicinity of Quft, who served as foremen and overseers. Most of them had, notwithstanding, to be trained for our special needs; but a few, and especially some of the very youngest, proved to be remarkably apt, so that by the end of our first campaign we found ourselves in command of a moderately reliable staff of foremen.

To the foregoing we then added labor from the neighboring villages, whose original quota of twenty grew finally to two hundred. They fell into groups of pickmen, who did the actual excavating; of boys, who carried the rubbish-filled baskets to the Decauville railway; and of youths, who pushed the dump cars.

The elevation of the surrounding terrain caused some difficulty in the disposal of the débris, necessitating long field-railway trackage and resulting in broad, low dumps. As a consequence we used virtually 500 meters of track and ten cars. When the work was in full swing, an average of one car per minute was pushed out from the excavation.

The territory of Medinet Habu, as we took it over from the Egyptian Antiquities Service in the autumn of 1927, is disclosed in the

accompanying plan (Fig. 27). It was covered for the most part with mounds of rubbish ranging in height from 3 to 6 meters, the remains of houses from the former Coptic town of Habu. Unfortunately, the entire area had until very recent times been thoroughly dug over by native peasants in their search for the nitrogenous refuse (*sebakh*) usually to be found on sites formerly inhabited by men and cattle and highly esteemed as a fertilizer. These natives had done their work so thoroughly that they had practically obliterated nearly all the mud brick walls, even to the bottoms of the foundation trenches. In the course of excavation, therefore, we found it necessary to proceed with the greatest conceivable care, safeguarding every vestige of wall still to be found *in situ*, in order to use it as a basis for a scientific reconstruction of the buildings.

The work[1] began on the south and southwest of the great temple. Here the massive inclosure wall was cleared not only within but to some extent on the outside also. The wall is more than 10 meters thick and was once, as one can gather from the towered gate, about 18 meters high. The corner of the wall is rounded both inside and out. A low, sloping curtain wall, also of mud brick, ran along in front of the higher wall. In later times this wall had frequently been strengthened, to some extent with material taken from the neighboring palace of Amenhotep III; for seals stamped on the mud bricks name the "House of Joy," as this palace was called. The warlike events which in the course of time were enacted in front of this wall are attested by numerous poisoned arrowheads of bone and flint which we found in the débris at its foot.

Between the great inclosure wall and the temple there extends a second or inner wall, 6 meters thick and fortified with towers. Its height, in reconstruction, would come to about 12 meters. In part a prolongation of the first pylon of the temple, it bends toward the rear to inclose the structures occupied by royalty, especially the palace which lies alongside the first court of the temple between the first and second pylons.

Outside the towered wall—that is, inclosed and dominated by the two sets of walls, outer and inner—lie in two parallel rows smaller

[1] An account of the still unfinished work in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple will be published in a later report.

dwellings and workshops. Here probably were housed the temple personnel and the slaves captured in war, whose offspring Ramses III reared here by ten thousands, as he himself tells us.

The chief interest of the year's excavation was centered in the royal palace (Fig. 28). At first glance its foundation walls appeared in a state of confusion difficult to comprehend, for here were foundation walls of two different palaces, one above the other. To the second palace belong the columns, the throne, and the thresholds which were exposed in 1912; and from them the floor level can be determined. The floor of the first palace, on the other hand, lay 40 centimeters lower. It was constructed of mud plaster laid over square mud tiles, and large portions of it are preserved.

One can see clearly that the first palace was razed when the building of the second palace began; for many of the stone blocks employed in the first palace were shifted to other uses in the second. They disclose the fact that both the first and the second palace were built by Ramses III, though separated by a considerable interval of time. For the first palace, including reliefs and paintings, was entirely finished before the decision was made to build a new one. The reason for the change is to be found in the dissimilarity between the ground plans of the two palaces (Figs. 29 and 30).

The first palace was planned and built simultaneously with the temple. Its plan is very simple: in front, an audience hall with twelve columns; behind this, a throne room with four columns. The two rooms communicated by a wide doorway, perhaps in three sections. The only access to this first palace was through the temple forecourt, whose great colonnaded portico served as the entrance hall of the palace (Fig. 31). Through two doors one gained entrance to two vestibules which led into the audience hall.

In the front wall of the audience hall (Room 2, Fig. 29) may be seen a flight of steps leading to a balcony window nearly 2 meters above the floor (Fig. 32). Here the Pharaoh, "like the sun in the horizon," made his appearance before the multitude assembled in the first court of the temple; and from this vantage point he beheld the captives and plunder being brought into the presence of the god. From this point, too, he amused himself in watching the gladiatorial com-

FIG. 28.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE PALACE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU AFTER EXCAVATION

The view looks northwest from the southeast corner of the palace inclosure. Beyond the palace area stretches the long south wall of the great temple (see Fig. 27), and at the right stands the first pylon of the [illegible] building. Abutting on the back of this pylon we see the south wall of the first court of the temple. This same wall formed the front of the palace. It still contains its four doorways, which will be found like- [illegible] Figures 29 and 30. In the center of the palace the two columns of the throne room are clearly discernible, and farther to the left are the remains of the baths (see Fig. 30).

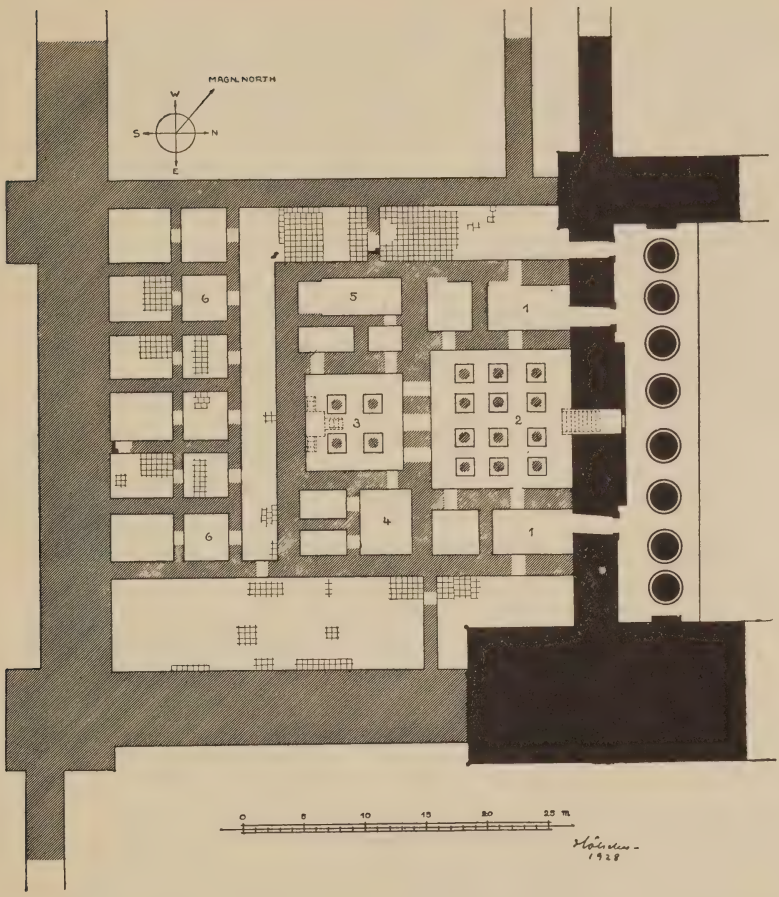

FIG. 29.—GROUND PLAN OF THE FIRST PALACE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU.

On the right the black portions are the stone masonry of the temple, with the south wall of the first court forming the front wall of the palace, while the south colonnade of the same court forms a portico in front of the palace. See elevation of this colonnade in Figure 31; its ground plan and the elevation of the wall behind it, that is, the front of the palace, in Figure 32; and finally the back of this front wall in Figure 33, showing the impinging brick walls of the palace structure, whose ground plan is shaded above.

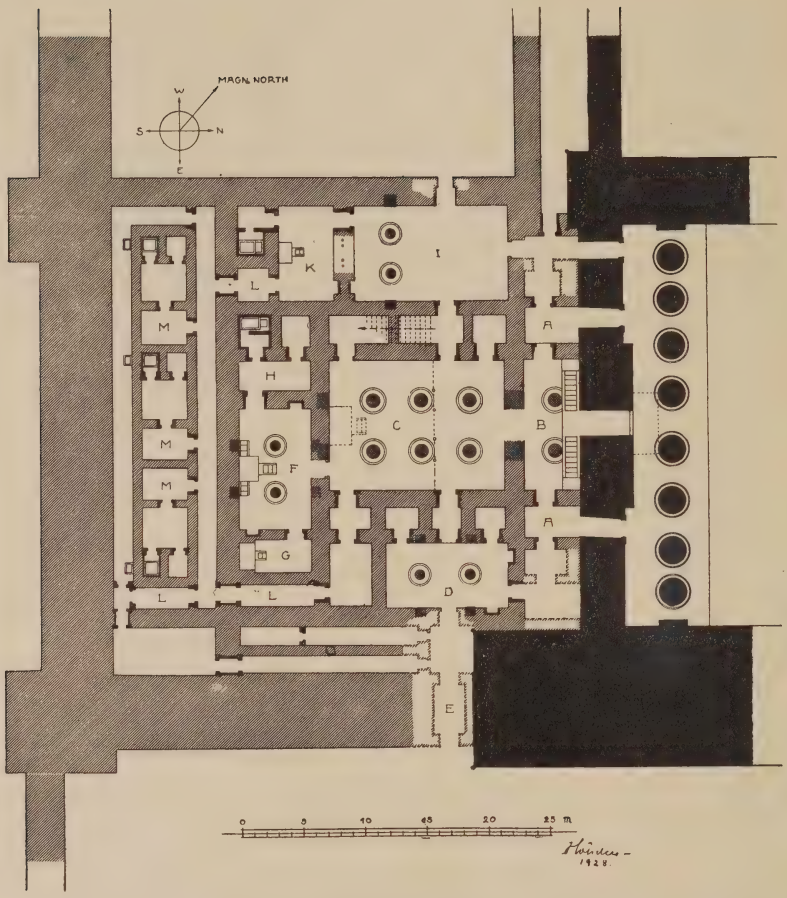

FIG. 30.—GROUND PLAN OF THE SECOND PALACE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU.

This plan covers the same area as Figure 29 and shows the same external walls of the palace, which were not altered, except that a side door was pierced through at *E* and another in the same axis on the opposite side. The other changes are discussed in the text, expecially the apartments for the king and his ladies. For a transverse section see Figure 35.

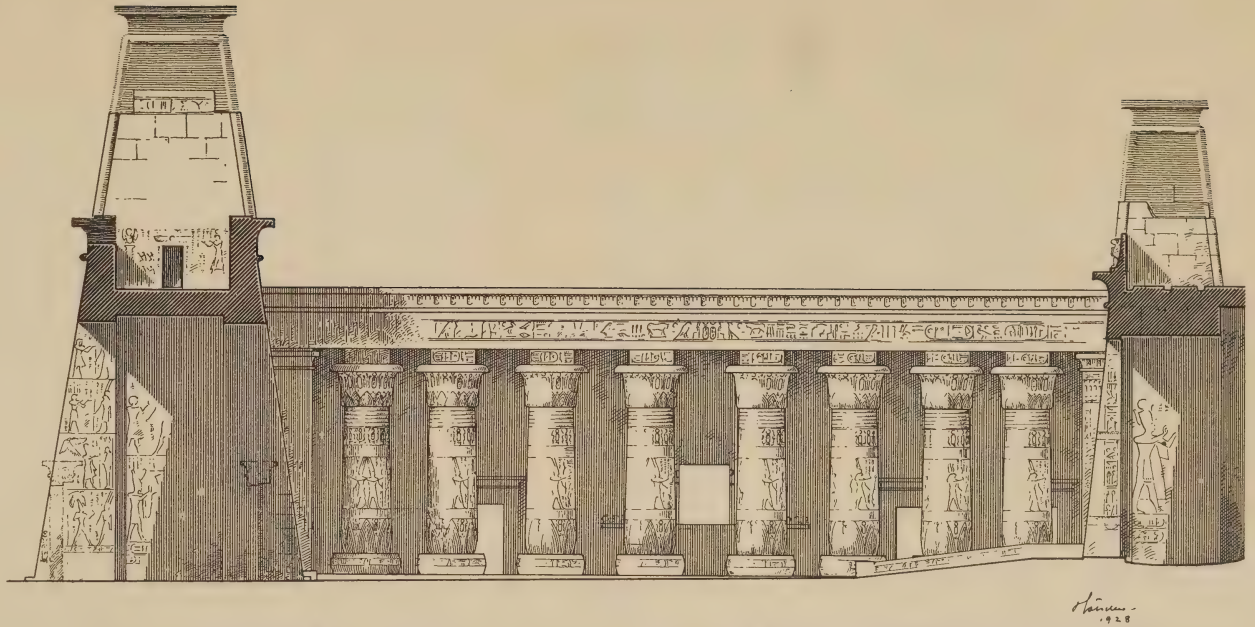

FIG. 31.—COLONNADED HALL OR PORTICO FORMING THE FRONT OF THE PALACE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU

This elevation shows the colonnade as seen from the first court of the temple (cf. Fig. 27). On the left is the first pylon of the temple, and on the right is the second. A ground plan of this colonnade with an elevation of the wall behind it will be found in Figure 32.

bats which were carried on in the court and which may be seen vividly depicted in the relief scenes on the wall beneath the balcony window. It was from this balcony also that the Pharaoh would reward his faithful followers by tossing down to them chains of gold. We found such a scene depicted in a relief taken from the first palace and now

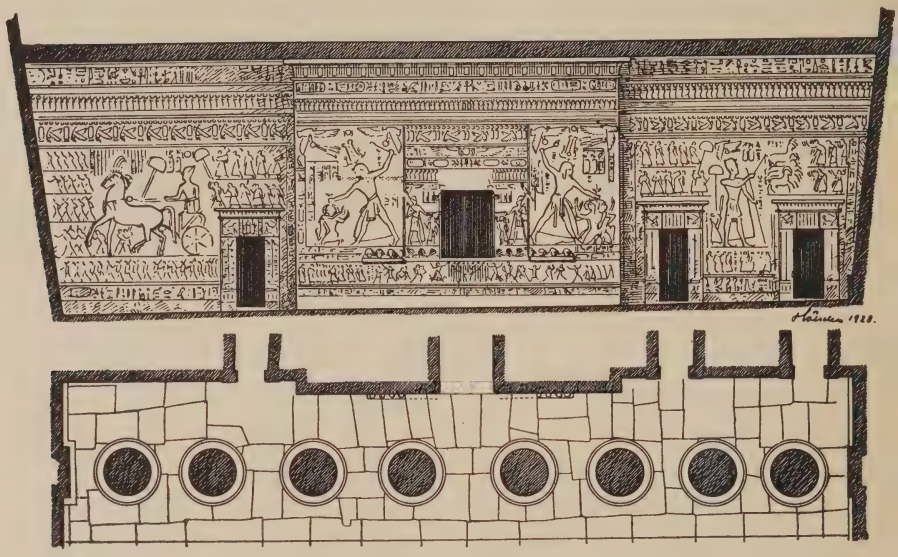

FIG. 32.—FRONT WALL OF THE PALACE (ABOVE) AND GROUND PLAN OF THE COLONNADE BEFORE IT (BELOW).

We see here in elevation the four doors in the front wall shown in ground plan in Figures 29 and 30. The painted sculptures embellishing the wall show a balanced disposition on both sides of the central door, before which was a wooden balcony no longer surviving. It was here that the king stood to inspect captives and spoils from his wars or to enjoy single combats arranged for his diversion. The reliefs at each side below the balcony depict these combats.

built into the flight of steps in the second structure—a scene precisely like those with which we are familiar in the tombs of Tell el-Amarna. We found also a number of blocks from the former throne base, on which appeared portrayals of bound captives, both Negroes and Semites.

To the left of the throne room (Room 3, Fig. 29) are three chambers which were probably storerooms; to the right is a bedroom (Room 5, Fig. 29) with a recess for the bed; and beside this are two small

adjoining rooms. A building to the rear contains storerooms and servants' quarters. It is quite clear that a palace with such limited living-quarters could hardly have served the Pharaoh as a place for a protracted stay, and it cannot therefore be regarded as his residential palace. Presumably it served merely for royal visits during the temple festivities and as a purely temporary stopping-place for the Pharaoh. The palace at the Ramesseum seems to have been laid out on exactly the same plan, and the formal rooms correspond exactly to those at Medinet Habu. The adjoining rooms may probably be reconstructed on the same plan. It would follow that the Ramesseum palace served as a model for the first palace at Medinet Habu.

In marked contrast is the plan of the second palace (Fig. 30). Its formal rooms follow a different plan, but are by no means larger than those of the first palace. Here we find a six-columned hall (*C*), against the rear wall of which must have stood a throne; and in front of this is a two-columned hall (*B*) in which a double flight of steps leads up to the balcony window. Small adjoining rooms served as storerooms and contained a stairway leading to the flat roof. Along a secondary axis passing at right angles through the main hall, one finds to the east a two-columned vestibule (*D*), beyond which is a gateway (*E*) cut through the towered wall that abuts on the first pylon. By this means one could leave the palace without traversing the temple court.

Behind the audience chambers follow the private rooms of the Pharaoh: a two-columned living-room (*F*) with an alabaster throne; a bedroom (*G*) with raised recess for the bed, to which one ascended by a small flight of steps; and a bath, toilet, and small dressing-room (*H*). Behind and to one side of the royal and audience chambers lies the harem. Westward from the six-columned hall, along the secondary axis of the palace one finds the harem court (*I*), which on its south side is bounded by a two-columned, shaded entrance hall. Behind this lies the women's salon (*K*), with what seems an alabaster dais for the Pharaoh's throne. A wide window, perhaps filled with a wooden grating, afforded an outlook into the court analogous to the view of the great temple court to be obtained from the Pharaoh's balcony window. Bath and toilet adjoin. From a vestibule (*L*), in which a eunuch was probably stationed, a second doorway leads to the women's apartments (*M*)—three exactly similar suites opening off a common

passage, each suite consisting of two rooms with bath and dressing-room. From the corridor before them there is direct communication on the one hand with the private apartments of the Pharaoh, while on the other a circuitous route leads to the side entrance of the palace. These exits also can be reached only through passages (*L*) guarded by eunuchs.[1]

The second palace was, therefore, in a stricter sense a place of residence for the Pharaoh and his court than was the first. It cannot, however, be regarded as the Pharaoh's "residential palace." The latter, surely much larger and more luxurious, was probably situated somewhere in the Delta. Still the Pharaoh must occasionally have held court for somewhat lengthy periods in the palace at Medinet Habu.

The excavations having afforded us fairly full indications of the ground plans of the first and second palaces, we are now able to gain further disclosures by observation of the temple wall (cf. Fig. 28). Still perfectly preserved, it formed the front wall of the palace; and it shows so clearly the former points of contact where the brick palace walls and roof were built against it that the exact cross-sections of both the first and the second palace can be determined (Figs. 33–35).

Figure 34 shows a cross-section of the first palace through the two vaulted vestibules (Rooms 1, Fig. 29) and the twelve-columned audience hall (Room 2, Fig. 29). In the latter, one can recognize the supports rising on the former stone architraves and over them the outlines of the barrel-vaulted brick ceiling. We have thus disclosed to us a type of construction which has never hitherto been found in ancient Egypt: a colonnaded hall roofed with a barrel-vaulted ceiling. Furthermore, the situation affords us a good example of how the walls of such a palace were divided up and adorned with a decoration of wall pictures in colored relief.

Figure 35 shows the second palace, with its narrow, possibly two-storied side rooms and its high, spacious columned hall. Here also, the ceiling was carried by means of barrel vaults over stone architraves, but with this difference, that during the construction of the

[1] An alternative explanation of the harem area would be that *K* and its dependencies constituted the queen's throne room and living quarters, while the three less elaborate suites (*M*) were for the use of concubines.—EDITOR.

FIG. 33.—REAR ELEVATION OF THE FRONT WALL OF THE PALACE, SHOWING ALSO THE DISPOSITION OF THE BRICK WALLS AND ROOF OF THE FIRST PALACE AT THE POINTS OF CONTACT WITH THE STONE MASONRY FRONT WALL.

At the right is the first pylon, seen in Figure 28, and at the left the second pylon. Figure 28 shows also the four doors opening on the other side to the colonnaded portico and the first court of the temple (cf. Fig. 27). This stone masonry wall shows clear traces of the sun-dried brick palace structure which was built against it. Compare Figure 29 and especially the cross-section in Figure 34.

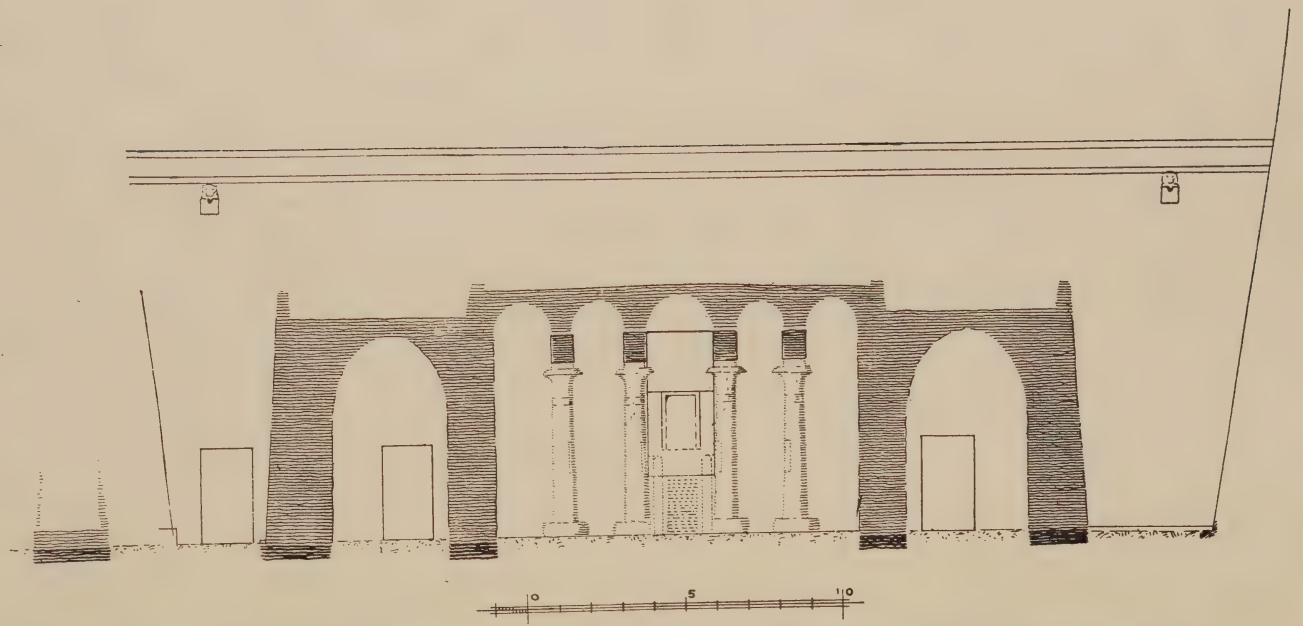

FIG. 34.—CROSS-SECTION THROUGH THE AUDIENCE HALL OF THE FIRST PALACE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU

The positions of the first pylon on the right and the second on the left are indicated. A comparison of the ground plan in Figure 29 will show the distribution of the bases of the columns, here shown in elevation, two on either side of a nave, forming two side aisles on each side. These columns were of stone.

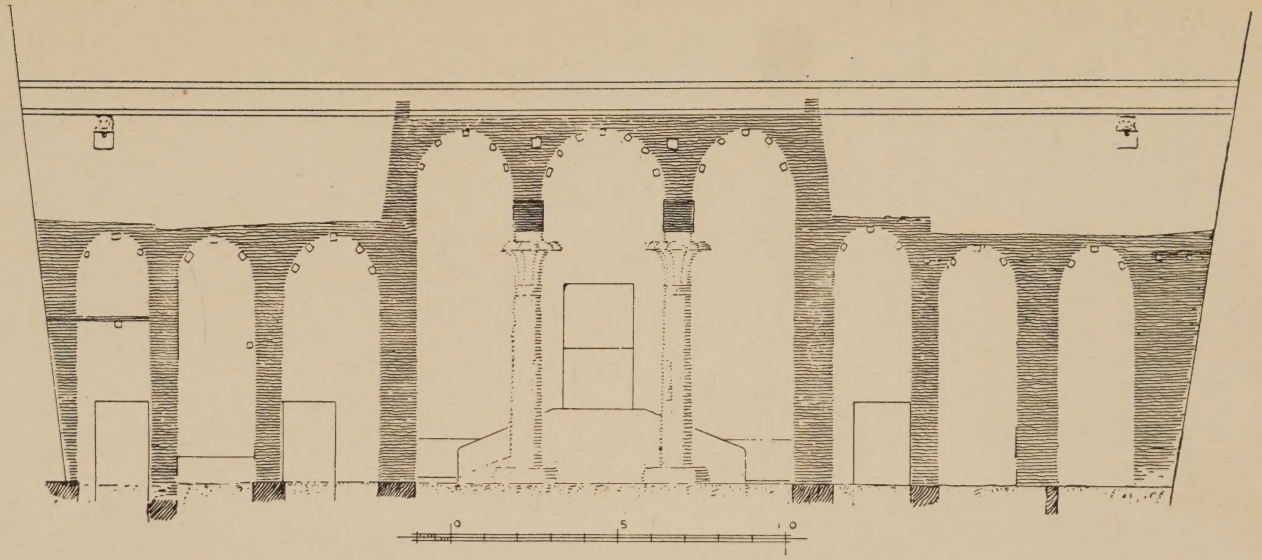

FIG. 35.—CROSS-SECTION THROUGH THE AUDIENCE HALL OF THE SECOND PALACE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU

A comparison with Figure 34 shows that the roof of the audience hall in the second palace is much higher than that of the first, resulting in a clerestory which was evidently fitted with windows for lighting the hall. Fragments of the openwork stone gratings which filled these windows were recovered during the excavations. Holes made in the stone masonry to carry the wooden beams of the temporary centering inserted to sustain the brick vaults of the ceiling while in course of erection are still visible in the front wall (Fig. 28) and are hence inserted in the drawing above. This reconstruction should be compared with the ground plan in Figure 30.

vaulting, a scaffolding or centering of wooden beams had here been inserted as a guide and support. This is again a new contribution to our knowledge of the ancient Egyptian builder's practice. This hall must have had high side windows. We found and pieced together quite a number of fragments from their elaborate stone grillwork. Various important fragments of columns and doorposts also were retrieved from a nearby tomb; so that it will probably be possible to reconstruct with some degree of certainty the essential portions of both palaces.

Next season's campaign will be largely concerned with ascertaining what originally stood in the court which borders the west side of the palace and is now filled with the débris of private dwellings of a later time, and with determining the connection between the palace or the harem and the rooms in the towered gateway so well known by their wall scenes of harem life.

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